/136 cont./

142 The tribe at Gam in particular consists almost exclusively of comparatively large people who, even after a thorough washing, display a decidedly darker coloration than the other Auin.

162 According to my observations, there is something like one to two women for each man, and from two to three children for each woman.

162 In this connection I would like to mention that newborn chil-
●847 dren are always killed if the mother is still nursing a child, which
[862] continues until about the third year of life. The killing is done immediately after birth by the mother, who buries the newborn child alive. The father has nothing to do with it. Since marital
[853] intercourse continues during the nursing period and since this period lasts for about three years, it follows that approximately every third child is reared while those born in the meantime are killed without exception. This might well be a principal factor in the unquestionable decline in the population.

592 Since each woman has her special windscreen (hut), the
595 man lives alternately with one and then another of his wives; the latter in turn have their children living with them, and it therefore follows that about three to four persons occupy each hut.

221 The size of the settlements (villages) is quite indefinite and
361 changes according to the circumstances. During the dry season a settlement is formed usually by one to two families, whereas during the period of ample veld food, in other words, toward the end and shortly after /137/ [map appears here] /138/ the rainy season, sometimes up to 30 families join together to form a "village." In April, 1908, about 400 men were living in a settlement near Sidonitzaub. If their dependents are included, one will arrive at a figure of at least 1,000 persons.

[701] All the men are armed warriors.

161 As has already been noted, one can clearly observe a decrease in the population, which, judging by its rapid progress, can be designated as swiftly approaching extinction. Aside from infanti-
[136] cide and malaria, the decrease of wild game may also be given as a reason for the population decline, since this decrease makes food more difficult to obtain. Older Auin state that in former times attacks by lions caused heavy losses.

[Text continues on page 7]

/156 cont./

684 Supposedly women are not killed for adultery.

/157/ Divorce rarely occurs, and then only when the woman
586 has become too old. The man then simply sends her away.

In most cases, however, the woman remains with her hus-
[595] band even in old age, while he provides himself with one or two younger and stronger women.

The children of the divorced or deceased woman stay with their father and are raised by the new wife.

587 Widows are permitted to marry again after a certain time, as is also the case for divorced women.

589 There is no special dress for widows.

The widows live in a special hut with the young girls.

The woman definitely occupies a position fairly equal to
562 that of the man. Also she quite frequently and energetically hen-
264 pecks him. Meals are consumed by the whole family together.

Concerning the division of labor, see page 29.

[184] The Rietfontein Auin always have just one wife. The reason
595 for this is said to be that "little food" is available. The Auin from Gam, on the average, have two, sometimes five wives.

Every wife has her own household.

The first wife seems to occupy a preferential position. It may be, however, that this is only because she is older.

As improbable as it may sound after what I have hitherto de-
548 scribed, there are supposed to be prostitutes among the married
684 women, who are willing to oblige for presents. When the husband finds out about it, he chases the woman away. It is not quite clear to me how this fits in with blood vengeance which is practiced in other cases. The Auin declared to me, "If a woman has affairs with many men, the man cannot after all wage 'orlog' with all these men."

Such a situation seems to be judged differently than one when a woman commits adultery in a special case.

842 Means for preventing conception are unknown.

Artificial abortion is sometimes supposed to be induced by
847 stepping on the abdomen of the pregnant woman.

Concerning infanticide, see page 5.

843 Sexual intercourse is not suspended until pregnancy has reached an advanced stage.

/158 cont./

845 If twins are born, which apparently is very rare, one child
847 is killed. When the twins are a boy and a girl, curiously enough it is the boy who is killed. The killing is done by the midwife or mother by burial immediately after birth.

852 A birth is celebrated by dancing, but only if enough food is on hand.

853 Nursing continues for two to three years.

764 A distinction is made between people who have died "well,"
[766] that is, easily and without a painful illness, and those who die in great pain.

The former are buried in the bush near the surface in the vicinity of the settlement, and the settlement is moved.

766 The latter, whom the Bushman probably regards as possessed and fears even after death, are not buried at all since they are abandoned even before death, and the entire settlement flees.

764 In the case of a burial, it takes place immediately after death.

The corpse is tied up in a crouched position, with the hands placed crosswise on the shoulders; the clothing is not removed.

The grave is not oriented with regard to any special direction; it is made as shallow and small as possible and is not provided with protective measures against predators.

The bow and the quiver with its contents are supposed to be hung on a stick planted into the ground over the head of the corpse. I present this with reservations, since I have never seen a grave marker of this kind.

761 People who have had a "good" death have died naturally; the others were bewitched. I use this expression, since it seems to me to come closest to the conception of the Auin.

766 If an Auin has murdered another Bushman, he drags him under a rosinkis bush and places him face downward on the ground.

765 The women of the settlement participate in the widow's lament, which consists of howling and screaming. External signs of mourning are not worn.

[28 cont.]
535 makes his appearance as the bull of some animal species that the
585 two kin groups especially prize. He takes his place in the row of dancing men. Across from them the women have taken up their position in a long row and accompany the dance by stamping, singing, and clapping their hands. The bride stands among them. She is in no way distinguished from the other women and girls. After a few turns, the bridegroom steps out of the row of men, goes dancing toward the bride, seizes her, and dances back again. The bride then comes from the row of women, clapping her hands, stamping, and singing as she moves toward the bridegroom; without touching him, she turns back, keeping her face turned toward the bridegroom, and rejoins the row of female dancers. With this, the external formality of concluding the marriage in front of many witnesses is over.

583 "It is the young man's duty, however, to leave his paternal
591 kin group for a year and to work for his parents-in-law. This means that any spoils he gets from hunting must be left in his mother-in-law's hut. He, of course, gets his piece during the distribution of the meat, but he is not yet regarded as the actual provider for his young wife, who, as before, receives her share of the meat from her mother, although she searches for veldkost for herself and her husband.

(224) "As a hunter, the man eats only the flesh of the rump.
262 The women and children receive the legs and intestines. Children are not allowed to eat certain parts; for example, a child may
(825) not eat the heart of a jackal. The child would not become sick
(828) by doing so, but since the jackal is very cowardly, the child would also become cowardly.

591 [29] "After the first year of marriage with its obligatory service, the young wife follows her husband to the encampment where the man's father or his kin group resides.

845 "If the child is so weak that it probably will not live,
847 or if it has a physical defect, it is buried alive on the same day, with or without the consent of the father and mother.

553 "The name of the child is given by the father. This is
852 done a few days after birth. The father spits on the child's chest and calls it by name. Others sprinkle it with water from a well.

[29 cont.]

553 The custom of spitting is undoubtedly original, not a substitute
852 for well water."

551 The father gives his newborn child a name. The boys usually receive animal names, commonly that of the grandfather, and the girls, plant names. Albinos are unknown among the !Kung
[142] tribes visited by me, but a horde of Bushmen with red eyes is supposed to live in the eastern Sand Veld in the region of the
[845] Dussidum. I have never seen twins; they are probably done away
853 with. The children are breast fed for a long time; older infants learn to squeeze the milk out of the breast with their fingers or pull with their teeth on the leathery nipples. The assertion of
847 other travelers that the women kill their children if they are born
[114] before the previous child has been weaned is allegedly not true of the kin groups visited by me. On the other hand, Vedder (1)

[113]

1. "Zur Vorgeschichte der eingeborenen Völkerschaften von Südwestafrika. I. Die Buschmänner [On the Prehistory of the Native Tribes of Southwest Africa]," by V. Vedder, Journal of the South West Africa Scientific Society, Vol. I, p. 10, 1925-1926, Windhoek, 1927. -- Cf. also Von Zastrow and H. Vedder, op. cit., p. 414.

reports:

"I must mention one other custom which likewise considerably contributes, and may have contributed in prehistoric times, to the Bushmen being so few in number. Custom demands that a child born when the older child of the same mother is not yet three years old be buried alive. This is a gruesome custom. I spoke about it with a racially pure Bushman. My remonstrances did not convince him at all. He explained: 'We Bushmen are poor people. We have no goats and no cows to give our children milk. If the woman brings two children into the world within a period of three years, we don't know what the older child is supposed to live on if the newborn child uses up the mother's milk. It cannot live on the hard veldkost or on tough meat. The teeth are not yet strong enough. If we let the newborn

[29 cont.]

847 child live, the older child would have to die. We are left with the choice of killing one of the children so that one can stay alive.' The explanation is absolutely convincing. There is the [593] added consideration that the Bushman mothers lose their maternal instincts when they see that a child is not thriving. I saw a six-month-old Bushman child, a really pitiful figure. The mother did not have sufficient food for her child. My wife offered to give the child the bottle. The proposal was joyfully accepted. For a few days, the child was brought at the specified times. It gladly took the bottle. But then the mother felt that her freedom was restricted. After all, she had to remain in the vicinity of the house for the sake of the child. She did not lack food at all. I provided for her. The desire for veldkost was too great, however, and the child was brought only in the morning and evening and received his meal. Naturally, no noticeable improvement could be observed. Hence, at an opportune occasion the mother disappeared, and when she reappeared, she was without the child. She and her friends had buried it alive."

853 Matters are certainly not always as hopeless as Vedder describes them. First of all, at a very early age the children are given pre-chewed veldkost, and, secondly, the women of the kin group help one another out with the breast feeding. During 854 the day the infant stays in a hide sack on the mother's back, and at night the children sleep at the mother's breast; the smallest lies directly at the breast, while during the cold season the others 867 cuddle around the mother's legs. From earliest childhood, the children are taught to honor the old people and not to take anything away from anyone. For the boys, the father soon carves a bow and arrow, for the girls a little digging stick. Nothing is said to little children when they take things, but once the boy has been given a bow, he may not touch anyone else's bow and arrow; otherwise he gets a beating. The boys greatly fear the women. 868 The bigger boys stay together by themselves and go hunting for 857 small game or accompany adults on the hunt for large game.

586 Marriage is absolutely indissoluble. Separation is also impossible, for outside the kin group the woman would perish in the wilderness. So far as I have observed, the relationship between 593 marriage partners is in general very good, and not uncommonly the

≠Auin
Naron
Nogau

[72 cont.]

163 children, who are always approximately two or three years apart.

Among the Naron the bride is formally abducted; the word
585 for "to marry" is the same as "to catch." Actually, however,
[583] negotiations precede this abduction. Among the Naron exogamy
582 now applies only to actual siblings. After the wedding the young
591 couple moves to the village of the bride's parents and sometimes stays there for years. There is also infanticide among the Naron.
847 Otherwise, however, the Bushmen are greatly attached to their
855 children.

5. State and Law

Among the ≠Auin, the chief's position is hereditary in the
622 man's tribe. The same is true among the Nogau. Among the
[178] Naron there are no actual chiefs any more. The last one lost his authority by staying on the farms most of the time as a worker. Bleek believes that formerly such a chief ruled 30 to 50 families.
[701] In most recent times all these tribes had a war chief, at least nominally.

Among all three tribes the conception of private ownership
422 685 of utilitarian objects is very strongly developed, and theft is punishable by death. Every kin group has a certain territorial district. The boundary markers are not clearly defined everywhere
423 in this flat terrain, so that crossing them does not have the same serious consequences as it does in the north. On the other hand, a person who finds game that was killed by arrow poison but not shot by him, may not take any of it. The gathering of veldkost is permitted everywhere. A person who finds a stock of honey, on the other hand, makes a sign there, and it is henceforth his private
[222] property. Among the ≠Auin individual Bushmen burn parts of the
[425] veld, and all the veldkost that grows there is regarded as the individual's private property.

The feuds between individual kin groups are designated as
628 721 wars, but since legal revenge is practiced almost exclusively against members of other hordes, every [73] enforcement of the law at the same time means war. Among the Nogau, war is ceremoniously announced by messengers.

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

128 Diagrams will be given to illustrate the homonymous method of applying terms,
601 but they do not illustrate a typical family. No Bushman family we know has as many
162 living children as in Diagram 4. Bushmen are completely nomadic and must carry
10 their young children and all their possessions, walking seventy or eighty miles or
847 more as they move from one wild crop of roots or nuts to another. They limit, by infanticide, the number of infants to those they can carry and care for. ≠Toma, one of our informants, helping me one day to construct one of these hypothetical illustrations, laughed and said, 'Who is this who has so many children? Is it an ostrich?'

DIAGRAM 2

601 In this illustration ego's */gu/na* is his FaFa. Ego's FaBr and FaSi are the So and Da of his */gu/na*. They and ego use the adjacent generational terms, *tsu* and *//ga*, for each other.

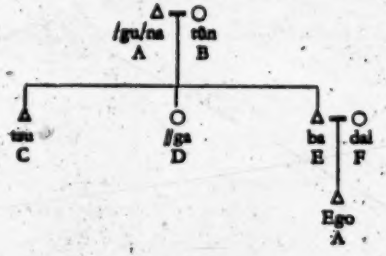
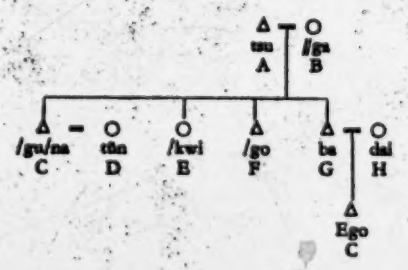


DIAGRAM 3

Here ego is named for his FaBr. In this case ego's FaFa is ego's */gu/na*'s Fa and ego's FaMo is his */gu/na*'s Mo; *tsu* and *//ga* are the terms used. Ego's FaBr and FaSi are the Br and Si of ego's */gu/na*; the sibling terms are used. Ego applies the term *tŧn* to the wife of his */gu/na*.



Diagrams 2 and 3 illustrate ego's application of terms to members of his */gu/na*'s family. Letters represent names. A person who is designated by the same letter as a person in a generation above him has been named for that person. The naming is customary and correct as far as it goes. Some of the children would be named for their mother's parents or siblings, but, as those persons would be ego's affines, until the affinal terms are given this aspect of the illustrations will be postponed.

There is a secondary application of the terms originally applied by ego to members of his */gu/na*'s nuclear family and spouse. Ego applies terms to persons who are named for the latter, and continues during his lifetime applying to persons descending from

it gets a bad *n/ow*. We heard the words used constantly in connexion with *n/ow* and rain and cold, but know of the use of only one of them in another connexion. The /Kung say that a child '*!ghui*(s) its name' if its teeth come late. We do not know precisely how to translate the words and hope that a linguist will some time throw more light on them.

≠Toma, one of our informants, pondering on the question of how the *n/ow* comes to be of one kind or the other in a person, said he thought the child's position in the womb and whether the child had long or short legs might have something to do with it, but he was not sure of this, and knew no more to tell us. A caul or a breech-birth does not make the *n/ow* good or bad, he thought. Other informants thought that severely deformed infants or twins might possibly be more likely than others to get a bad *n/ow*, but they too were uncertain. (Possibly this is because deformed infants and the weaker one of twins are killed at birth by /Kung mothers, so there is little occasion to think about the *n/ow* of such children.)

It is discovered what kind of *n/ow* a child has by observing the weather at the time of its birth or soon after. If it rains the people believe the *n/ow* of the child has brought the rain and are sure the *n/ow* is good. If water should freeze when the child was born or soon after, the child's *n/ow* would be known to be bad. Should the weather continue in its normal seasonal course and no great extreme or notable change occur, the child's *n/ow* will be thought to be probably of the rain-bringing or cold-bringing kind according to the type of weather which prevailed; but if the weather is extreme at the time of the birth there is a feeling of certainty about the kind of *n/ow* the child has acquired, as the /Kung believe the effect of the *n/ow* was clearly observable.

At death as well as at birth the *n/ow* of a human being influences the weather. A /Kung told us that his *n/ow* had brought heavy rain when he was born and that everyone knew he had a rain-bringing *n/ow*. He said his mother, who lived at some distance from where he lived, noticed the weather and, if rain came at an unusual time or was unusually heavy, she feared he had died and that his *n/ow* was causing the rain to come.

N/ow is said to exist in the bodies of human beings (presumably everywhere in them). Informants mentioned it particularly as associated with uterine fluid at the time of birth and with the urine and hair of humans.

Hair is associated with clouds by the /Giwke Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, with whom we worked in 1955. They have a myth, told to us by the old headman, Oukwane, which says that God, whose name there is Pisiboro, and who is their one God, tore the black, black hair from his head and threw it into the sky to make the rain clouds.

In *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*,[1] Dr. Bleek and Lucy Lloyd record a belief about death, collected in 1875 in the Katkop dialect from the informant Dia/kwain, which refers to hair and clouds. We quote the statement:

> The hair of our head will resemble clouds, when we die, when we in this manner make clouds. These things are those which resemble clouds; and we think that (they) are clouds. We, who do not know, we are those who think in this manner, that (they) are clouds. We, who know, when we see that they are like this, we know that (they) are a person's clouds; (that they) are the hair of his head. We, who know, we are those who think thus, while we feel that we seeing recognize the clouds, how the clouds do in this manner form themselves.

[1] Bleek, W. H. I., and Lloyd, L. C., *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911, pp. 399–401.

606 his mother-law, it is necessary to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never refer to each other by name but always as " my son-in-law " or " my mother-in-law." The son-in-law does not associate with his father-in-law but similarly avoids him and should they meet accidently they may exchange greetings but no general conversation will take place nor will they look each other in the face.

847 Abortion is sometimes practised early in pregnancy in the case of both married and unmarried women. It is procured by external manipulation of the uterus and not through the agency of drugs.

844 A pregnant woman is generally treated with great consideration. For the first confinement it is customary for her to [84] return to her mother's group. Among the *Hei-||om* the labour is conducted in the camp. Among the more primitive Kalahari Bushmen the woman leaves the camp as soon as the first symptoms appear and is attended to by her mother or some other old woman underneath a tree some distance away. Tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on the tree as a warning to men that a labour is in progress. The mother returns to the camp immediately after the birth of the child and for a week or more subsequently is relieved of such duties as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. 846 In the event of a mother dying during childbirth the infant is reared by the grandmother or by some friend who desires a child. When it cannot be disposed of in this manner 848 it is buried alive with the mother. Illegitimate births are not common among the primitive communities. When they do occur the children are usually put to death. Pregnancies 165 follow in rapid succession during the course of married life 847 but owing to the high mortality among infants caused by the strenuous conditions of life very few children survive. Further, among the Bushmen of the Kalahari child murder is practised. Children are suckled until they are able to walk well. If a new child is born while the last one is still on the breast it is buried alive in the nearest burrow or in a hole made for the purpose by the old woman who conducted [845] the labour. When twins are born one is invariably killed. It is for these reasons that it is rare to find families of five [162] or more children in the Kalahari. On an average only two or three children survive infancy and early childhood. Among the Bushmen of the Oschimpoloveld and Ovamboland larger families are met with. Brother and sister avoidance [593] is met with in some but not in all tribes. There is no special ceremony in connection with the naming of children. Among [55] the *Hei-||om* each child is generally given three names, [55] namely a first name, a second name and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother and the second name by the

182

With considerable empirical knowledge, the !Kung have arrived at workable solutions to the problems of subsistence. By means of their technology, they have managed to satisfy their basic needs and their many wants of life (at least, they satisfied them until they were exposed to the wealth of white men). The fact that their population is limited because of their technology is one result of this adaptation—of which infanticide is an occasional expression. That they live to all intents and purposes from day to day—having no real measure of surplus in the form of stored crops and

[847]

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

221
415 of ostrich eggshells for carrying water and skin bags for food—is evident. With carrying bags and ostrich eggshells, the people can bring water to food and food to water. Partly because of their life of motion, the !Kung do not accumulate heavy wealth.

●847 Infanticide is uncommon among the !Kung, but one of the various reasons for the practice is that a woman may feel she cannot carry another child when the band moves. Then, the baby is born into a tiny grave near the *werft*, and the grave is closed.

[p. 68]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

to do so. Lack of privacy makes it almost impossible to keep an affair secret, and violent jealousy and anger can be aroused. Fearing any disruptive force, the !Kung disapprove.

LIFE CYCLE

CHILD TRAINING • !Kung parents are gentle, protective, and permissive with all their children and express their affection especially with babies. It is a most common sight to see fathers fondly kissing them with pursed lips and smacks. The mother, wherever she goes, carries her infant tied to her left side, skin to skin, in a little leather sling where it can reach her breast. When she sits, she takes the infant out of its sling, holds it, lets it nurse the other breast.

The !Kung believe that long nursing is essential to the survival and development of their children and encourage them to continue until they are three or four or older. These people practice infanticide and, in explaining it, say that they must space their babies so that each will be able to nurse long enough to ensure his having strong legs. An infant cannot thrive on their harsh foods, they say, even though they chew the food and put it into the infants' mouths, and the mother cannot support two entirely with her milk, excellent though !Kung lactation appears to be. They supplement the milk with adult food as soon as the child can eat it, so that a child is accustomed to it and ready to be weaned at three or four when the next baby comes. But, even so, the mother weans gradually, letting the older child have a drink of milk occasionally through the day. If the mother does not have or keep another baby but still has milk, she will allow or encourage her child to continue nursing. Other children tend to make fun of a child who nurses until he is six or so, and, in response to their teasing, a child may wean himself quite abruptly.

Babies are naked and, since there are no floors but the desert sand, not much is made of their urinating wherever they are. When they defecate, they are wiped with grass and the fecal matter is cleaned up at once by some older child or adult and carried off. As soon as children can walk fairly well they are led by the hand and encouraged to go out of the werf for their toilet needs, at first for the sake of cleanliness and, as they grow older, for the sake of modesty as well. (!Kung adults are exceedingly modest about uncovering their genitalia. Their incest taboo influences this behavior, I think, very strongly.)

Infants sleep in their mothers' arms. Young children sleep wrapped in karosses beside their parents' fire. Boys from the age of about eleven or twelve sleep at a boys' fire, not far from the family of one of them. Girls at that age go to sleep with a grandmother or some widow, or several of them

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

before these destructive raids as being in any way excessive.[1] In Orange Free State and Basutoland, too, where at one time the Bushmen were also very numerous, there are now apparently no more than a few stray individuals.

Even in South-West Africa their numbers seem to have declined a good deal within recent years. The German official estimate for 1913 gave the Bushman population of this territory as 8,098,[2] which may be contrasted with the 1926 figure of 3,600. Allowing for probable inaccuracies in the two estimates, there does nevertheless appear to be an undeniable decrease. This may be attributed largely to the ravages of disease, especially malaria, although other factors also must be considered. The present area of Bushman occupation in the North-West Kalahari is largely infested with malaria, and all observers agree that the Bushmen suffer heavily from this disease. Thus Kaufmann put the numbers of the Auen in 1908 at approximately 3,000, but adds that in the following year more than half the tribe was swept away by malaria, while in 1917, 1923, and 1925 the same disease was again attended by a considerable mortality among all the Bushman tribes in this area.[3] Infanticide, a practice definitely recorded among the North-Western tribes, also tends to keep the numbers down; while the disappearance of game and the enforcement against the Bushmen of the game laws serve the same end by making their mode of subsistence even more precarious than it was at the best of times.

There seems little doubt that the Bushmen are steadily dying out as a race. What relentless persecution at the hands of other peoples has not achieved is being slowly accomplished by disease and racial intermixture. Racially pure Bushmen are already in a minority, and their ultimate absorption by their neighbours is probably inevitable.

HOTTENTOTS

Racial History

By the time when European contact with South Africa was first established, the Bushmen in the Cape had already been reduced to living in isolated groups scattered about among the more numerous

[1] Fritsch, op. cit., 395.
[2] *Die deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee* 1912/1913: *Amtliche Jahresberichte*, p. 395.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 136, 159; *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, No. 9, 1928, p. 990.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

the women told her "a girl may do as she pleases, but a married woman may not".[1] And again Dornan writes of the Hlechware: "Sexual intercourse by the lovers before marriage, though looked upon as wrong, is very often indulged in."[2] Vague generalizations such as these really tell us next to nothing about the nature of sexual life before marriage; they simply ignore the many important sociological problems connected with the whole question of courtship and selection, social attitude towards prenuptial unchastity, legitimacy, and marriage.

Similarly Trenk says that the girls among the Namib Bushmen are generally virgins when they enter into marriage, because most of them marry soon after puberty.[3] But that premarital unchastity does actually occur is shown by his statement in another context that the children born to an unmarried woman are taken over and looked after by the man she subsequently marries, although as soon as they grow up they must be returned to their real father.[4] This implies that physiological paternity is acknowledged by these Bushmen, and that marriage is not necessary to legalize the status of children. The latter implication at least is at variance with what is known of other Bushmen, and needs to be confirmed. Among the Heikum, for example, abortion is sometimes practised by unmarried women who are pregnant, or, when "illegitimate" (i.e. prenuptial) births occur, the children are usually buried alive.[5] Here, therefore, marriage would seem to be an essential preliminary to the right to procreate and rear children, and therefore to the foundation of the family.

A family is constituted by a union between one man and one or more women, this union being legalized by marriage. The Cape Bushmen are now said to be monogamous,[6] but polygynous marriages also have been recorded by earlier writers.[7] The Namib Bushmen, according to Trenk, are monogamous; Seydel, on the other hand, curtly remarks that both polygyny and polyandry occur![8] There is no other mention of polyandry among any of the Bushmen, and the statement can hardly be accepted as accurate without full confirmation. The more northerly tribes all permit polygyny, although the frequency of such marriages varies. Among the Naron at Sandfontein monogamy

[1] Op. cit., 32. [2] Op. cit., 128. [3] Op. cit., 169. [4] Ibid., 168.
[5] Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.
[6] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, ix; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 62.
[7] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 273; Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, i, 30; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 95.
[8] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 505: "Vielmännerei und Vielweiberei wird beobachtet."

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

844 she lies on her side. The umbilical cord is not tied, but cut with a knife; the Auen use the sharp edge of a reed for this purpose, never anything else. A plaster of mud and leaves is put on the baby's abdomen, if there is much bleeding. Before, during, and immediately after the birth the mother may not be washed with water, nor may the child, which is simply wiped off with the soft grass and put into its mother's kaross. Among the Auen, when birth is difficult or when, [845] [755] e.g., the woman is ill at the time of delivery, the magician is called in to lighten the process, which he attempts to do by sucking with his mouth at the vagina and by "murmuring spells". This is the only instance recorded of any magical assistance being given at birth.

Immediately after the child is born and wiped clean it is simply 846 put into the kaross of its mother, who then returns to the camp. Among the Heikum and the Auen she is now for a week or more relieved of her normal daily duties, such as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. Among the Naron, however, she is said to resume her ordinary avocations immediately. Occasionally [845] harder births occur, and then the woman may be quiet for a few days, if she pulls through; but a really difficult birth means the death of both mother and child, as no method of helping is known save massage.

In the event of the mother dying during or shortly after childbirth, [853] [847] some other woman may suckle the child and rear it, if it lives; but more often than not it is buried alive with its mother, especially among the wilder bands.

In this connection reference may be made to a practice recorded 853 by Seiner of the Kung, but not reported by any of the other writers on this or other tribes. He states the belief exists that if a child is placed too soon at its mother's breast both will die. Immediately after it is born the infant is therefore handed over to another woman to be suckled. Often enough, however, there is no suitable woman in the small band, and so the hungry infant makes futile attempts at several different dry breasts, to be returned finally, strengthless and dying, to the arms of its mother. He attributes the great infant [165] mortality chiefly to this practice, which often results in the infant's not receiving its mother's breast until too late.

845 Twin births are said to be very rare. Among the Auen and the 847 Heikum one of twins is invariably killed by being buried alive by the mother or one of her attendants immediately after the birth. If the children are of opposite sexes, it is always the boy who is killed in this way. Among the Kung, again, both are buried alive at birth, for it is

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

believed that they bring ill-luck on the parents. What treatment is adopted in the other tribes is not definitely stated; among the Naron it appears that they are both allowed to live.

The exposure or killing of deformed children does not seem to occur in any of the tribes. Abortion, however, is often induced by treading on the body of the pregnant woman. It appears to be practised mainly when she is unmarried, and therefore to imply that only married women have the right to bear and rear children.

There is no account of any special ceremony held in connection with birth, although if there is enough food—but only then—a feast followed by a dance may be given by the parents. The child is usually named shortly after birth, without special ceremony. The name is given by the parents in consultation with the grandparents and other relatives, and among most of the North-Western tribes is generally that of some near relative. Boys, for instance, may receive the name of a paternal grandfather or uncle, girls that of a maternal grandmother or aunt. Often there is a squabble about the name between the father's people and those of the mother; whichever party is in force generally succeeds in having its wishes adopted, and the child is named after a member on that side of the family.[1]

The Heikum system of naming closely resembles that of the Hottentots, and has in all probability been taken over from them. "Each child," says Fourie,[2] "is generally given three names, namely a first name, a second name, and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother, and the second name by the old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the surname of the mother and girls that of the father.[3] Thus */Uirob Geirob /Geibeb* married a woman */Kao-tamas Gamanis /Garus* and begot two sons, namely *//Otoab /Gonab /Garub* and *Gogob Gomob /Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras /Geibes*. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is added to the surname. Hence the names of *//Otoab* become *//Otoab /Gonab /Garub /Geibemab*. This practice offers a means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose. A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nicknames are common, and are given to children when quite young.

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 30–1; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 66.

[2] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 61.

[3] This feature is specially characteristic of the Hottentot system of name-giving. V. below, p. 267.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

171 They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for
551 example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face, and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life."

853 Children are nursed by their mothers till about three or even four years old. They cannot be weaned sooner, as there is no suitable
[862] food; they begin to taste vegetable foods quite soon, but in order to satisfy their hunger must still have recourse to their mother's breast.

847 This prolonged weaning is responsible for the custom of infanticide found among the North-Western tribes.[1] Sexual intercourse between the parents is not discontinued until pregnancy is far advanced, and is resumed shortly after the birth. As no preventive means save
[163] abortion are known, pregnancies therefore follow in rapid succession during the course of married life, and it often happens that another child, or even two, may be born while the first is still at the breast. In such a case the new child is, as the natives euphemistically put it, "thrown away." Care is taken that the birth takes place in the
[844] bush far away from home, and an attempt is made to force it on by massage. But whether alive or stillborn, the infant is buried in the nearest burrow or in a hole in the ground made for the purpose by the old woman who helps the mother.

This practice is generally carried out against the husband's wishes, but the women are adamant in their refusal to rear two children at the same time. They find it impracticable to provide for two children of different ages, both needing the shelter of their kaross, and to be carried on marches, and are determined not to have another child to rear until the first is able to do without their milk and care. In selecting which children shall live, they go merely by the convenient time, not by the health of the infant; several people have physical defects dating from birth, good evidence that deformed children are not necessarily done away with. It follows that only every second or third child is usually weaned, the one or two born in the interval being killed without exception. This practice is not heard of among
[184] the Southern or the Namib Bushmen.

[165] In consequence of this custom, as well as of the high infant mortality caused by the natural hardships and strenuous conditions of Bushman life, relatively few children survive, and the families are therefore
162 small. On the average women do not rear more than two or three children, although among the Naron Miss Bleek found one or two

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; Kaufmann, op. cit., 136; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 31–2; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.